721 Excitement and enthusiasm decline, and the group returns home.
But some are pushed until realized, [95] and can be very murderous.
726 The Nambikwara usually attack at dawn and extend their ambush by
dispersing throughout the bush. The signal for attack is given from
[534 203] place to place, thanks to the whistle which the Indians carry hanging
from their necks. This little whistle, composed of two bamboo tubes
[136] tied with cotton thread reproduces the cry of the cricket approximately,
and doubtless for that reason has the same name (kalõde) as this insect.

MAGIC, RITES AND RELIGIOUS BELIEFS

278 Some beliefs of a magical and religious character also play
[771] their role in social life. The most important is the notion of
nãnde (bl). To analyze it, we should first say a few words con-
cerning poisons. The Nambikwara are very expert poisoners. They
make curare for their arrows, or at least for some of them, pre-
[415] served in little earthen pots. (1) Without enlarging here upon the

1. The study of the Nambikwara curare was made, on the occasion of our expedition, by our friend and companion Dr. J. A. Vellard. Cf. Vellard, "A preparação do curare pelos Nambikwaras," Revista do Archivo Municipal de São Paulo, LIX, 1939, p. 5-16; "Communication à l'Académie de Médicine de Paris," id. LVIII, 1931, p. 117-118.

manufacture of the curare, it must be noted that this preparation, although reserved for chiefs and sorcerers, is not surrounded by any ritual and does not give rise to any magical operation. The Indians make the curare publicly, applying recipes and taking precautions which are either essential to the effectiveness of the product or which constitute simple prejudices, but all of which have a positive character. Their attitude towards this poison thus may be considered as scientific. Along with curare, the Nambikwara know other poisons likewise of vegetable origin, and which take the form of powders
[415] contained in small tubes. These are made of quills, feathers, or stalks of bamboo or other wood, cleaned out and corked at both ends with a piece of vegetable pith or cotton, and at times decorated with red dots and lines made with urucu paste. (2) These tubes are

2. Cf. Rondonia. Roquette Pinto collected examples of these tubes and reproduced one of them (Rondonia,

789 411 [b1], makalé [c1]). This instrument is used in three circumstances: in war; to conjure up (or to attract?) rain by manipulating it according to an approved ritual as if one were tracing signs in the air while brandishing it; finally to kill the atáisu, by throwing it in the direction of the apparition, using as intermediary a tooth of the jaguar; the throwing stick is placed obliquely in the left hand, the point turned in the direction of the atáisu, and the tooth, manipulated by the right hand, acts as a hook for projection. The atáisu appears only at night. It may borrow the form of the jaguar or of other animals who are then filled with murderous intentions. When the atáisu is caught in his terrestrial form at the point of the javelin, a great flow of blood is produced. The "supernatural" animal is never eaten. They abandon its body to the carrion.

789 761 In the second case, one is faced with a real theory of death. The sick person who sees the atáisu appear knows that he is condemned, and the animal actually carries him off on the spot or returns to get him a little later. The current version of the death of A21, drowned in a river in July 1938, was that the atáisu carried him to the bottom of the waters. The atáisu would live in the water. An informant described it as having "a large mouth and lots of collars."

789 771 761 The southern, central and northern groups bear witness to a more elaborate religious thought. Among these peoples, the preceding notions are crowned by a third, which does not appear as clearly in the eastern groups although it is probably present, that of the wind and thunder, hypostasized in the forms of a semi-personal power named amõ. (1) In these groups, this is substituted for the atáisu in the theory

1. The Tupi origin of this term is evident. One can compare Montoya, "amaː cloud of waters; Nogueira, "amaː cloud; Coudreau (Bibliothèque Linguistique Américaine, XV, 1892), "amane (Oyampi): rain; Gonçalves Diaz, "amanaː (chuva) rain; Kinenberth (Baessler Archiv, VI, 1-2, 1916-1917), "amana, aman, amaⁿ (Tapirapé): rain; Nimuendaju (Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, XLVI, 1914), "amaⁿ (Lingua Géral): (chuva) rain.

of death, and it is possible to communicate with it through revelations and visions.

787 These visions are attributed to the thunder which sends them to men under its semi-personal form amõ.

●771 Thus the Nambikwara conceive of three types of supernatural
756 forces: first the power which is abstract, but placed in objects or substances, the nãnde; next the spirits acting in the form of supernatural or seminatural animals, atásu or jaguar. Finally the thunder, with which under certain conditions, it is possible to entertain personal relations. Each individual can, in a certain measure, establish contact with these forces, however it is the shamans who have the specialized function of intermediary between the human group and the supernatural world. The information which we shall give on this point will be very summary, for it was impossible to obtain from our informants a coherent treatment of the question of shamanism. None of the groups encountered had a shaman with the exception of a single one (group c) where the powers of the chief and the sorcerer were found [102] concentrated in a single individual (C20). Our best informant, B1, chief of the allied group, was categorical concerning the fact that C20 combined the two qualities of nelikabala (chief, c) and of ndãre (thunder, c) although he was only nilikãde, temporal chief. The sorcerer would then be simultaneously the man who identifies himself with thunder, and who communicates with it in the personal form called amõ. Likewise, in the eastern groups (a1 restricted and enlarged, and a2), it was not possible to uncover the presence of a sorcerer or of an individual with such powers. This fact could be interpreted in three different ways: that the sorcerers were held apart; or that they dissimulated their nature; that the institution of the sorcerer is, in fact, absent in certain groups; or that, in these same groups, the functions of the sorcerer are exercised by the chief, and that, in inverse fashion to what is produced in group c, it is the spiritual functions which are in second place with regard to the temporal. It is this hypothesis which we consider the most reasonable. In group a1; A1 makes the arrow poison and treats sick persons by suction, functions which in group c come within the province of C20 considered as shaman, rather than chief of the group.

756 Whatever the fact may be, and as we have just said, it is the sorcerer who makes the poisons, and it is he who proceeds to the magical treatment of the sick, clearly different from the positive
278 therapeutics likewise practiced. The Nambikwara are familiar with
757 quite a large number of medicinal plants and treat certain illnesses with their help. Thus they care for purulent ophthalmia by an

2: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939)1948
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

533 **Music and dance.**—Music is clearly tonal, with melodic structures easy to identify. The end of a melody is usually marked with several shrill sounds which are repeated after each coda. Music is both instrumental and choral and usually accompanies dances.

535 Dances are performed under the leadership of the chief. Men and women stamp rhythmically on the ground while turning in a circle. Usually, dancers close one nostril with the left hand to make their singing nasal. Only men perform war dances, forming one or more rows and stepping forward and backward in front of the leader. In the second phase of the dance, they attack a post, a symbolical enemy, with bows and arrows, and clubs. Most of the dances and songs are connected with hunting or seasonal ceremonies, but they may be used at any time for mere entertainment.

534 **Musical instruments.**—Flageolets have four holes and an air duct; three are usually played together, accompanied by a rhythm trumpet made of a piece of bamboo with a hollow calabash fixed to its bottom. Nose flutes (pl. 36, *top, right*) are made of two pieces of calabash glued together with wax and pierced with three holes. One hole is blown with one nostril while the other nostril is closed with the thumb; the other two holes vary the notes. Nose flutes are also played in unison. Double and treble whistles have the air duct cut in the middle of the pipe, so that they can be blown at either end. Panpipes (pl. 36, *bottom, left*) are of two kinds: the common type has five pipes; the other type consists of two or three reeds cut obliquely at the mouth-end. All pipes produce approximately the same note in the latter.

272 273 **Drinks and narcotics.**—Drinks are made with crushed manioc or maize mixed with water, or of palm fruits, especially *Mauritia* sp., *Acrocomia* sp., and *Oenocarpus distichus*. A slightly alcoholic beverage is prepared of wild pineapples mixed with water.

276 The *Nambicuara* are ardent smokers. They cultivate a tobacco with tiny leaves, which they dry between two pieces of wood, crush with their hands, and store in small calabashes. Cigarettes are rolled in special leaves and tied with grass.

MAGIC AND RELIGION

771 The *Nambicuara* believe in the existence of a diffuse power or substance which may occur in objects and in living beings. It is manifest mostly in poisons, some of which are real (see Weapons, p. 366), some purely magical. To the latter belongs the rosin of the barrigudo tree (a Bombacaceae), which is kept in tubes like the true poisons. When thrown by a special technique at an enemy, it is believed to make him swell like the trunk of the tree and die.

776 There are also dangerous spirits of the bush and of water, which may appear in the shape of an animal, especially the jaguar, or in a

534 *kadínau*, the nose flute, *maittánau*, and the five-tube panpipe, *dútu*. The nose flute which is about 4 inches in diameter is made by sticking two round pieces of gourd together with rosin. Three holes are made on one side, two holes providing finger stops, while air from one nostril is blown across the other. These flutes do not appear to have any ritual significance.

771 In reviewing the religious symbolism of the Nambicuara it appears that the following conclusions can be drawn. The *okilidilies* myth explains the origin of the Eastern Nambicuara and their rights to the territory which they now occupy. *Tsuptá*, although not the cause of illness, explains why people die. *Tsuptá* and *dilsínaus* also account for the existence of shooting stars and the presence of rain. *Ulurá* appears to represent the ever-present forces of destruction inherent in the physical environment. Within the framework of these ultimate forces the Nambicuara carry on their struggle for existence assisted by and opposed by the members of their own kind. The security of the band depends upon the close cooperation of the kinsman acting under the guidance of the chief. The *wdiarku* flutes provide a supernatural sanction for the powers of the chief and thus help in enforcing and maintaining band solidarity. The flutes, furthermore, are a symbol of the common ancestry of the Eastern Nambicuara in that they relate the bands to the culture hero. The ghosts of the ancestors (*aydnkadies*), like the living members of the band, must be well-treated in order to avoid danger to children and the perpetuation of the band.

619 But actual day-to-day danger to the individual comes from the members of other bands. Disputes over women and quarrels arising from the exchange of goods, as we have seen, lead to bloodshed and death. In the ultimate analysis each [621] band defends itself as a sovereign unit by force. The danger arising from the constant tension and suspicion between the bands is symbolized by the *enánau* who bring illness, who create the storms which destroy the houses and fields, and who threaten the band with starvation by making hunting difficult. As direct attack by other bands is met with the physical forces of the band, so spiritual attack by the *enánau* of other bands is met by the assistance of one's own *enánau*. They help the shamans to draw out the evil objects

542 treated with great affection. The men are jealous of their wives, and
[837] the women take pride in being faithful. In this respect they are quite unlike their neighbors, the Paressi women...

832 The couples are always petting each other, and no caress seems
302 sweeter and more tender to the lover than the woman's fingers running through his hair. This is easy to understand, for the Nambicuara head swarms with vermin...

[Fig. 38]

585 According to reports of the soldier Gouveia, marriage is a simple ceremony. The man asks the father of his beloved for consent to the union. If the father agrees, he gives the bridegroom a bow and a sheaf of arrows, telling him that with these weapons he must support the family he is about to form. That is all.

851 To show that a boy is the son of a certain man, they use in
201 their innocence an expressive gesture: they join the thumb and index finger of the left hand, in the shape of a ring, around the right extended index finger. Then they tap the child and father on the shoulder, saying "Uétü!" (son).

888 They show great respect for old people and spare them all possible effort. When we returned from the village on the Urutau to the post on the Juina, they had us carry [258] on the bow of our saddles the baskets of two old men from the group that accompanied us in search of gifts. The young men and the women all carried their own aricú and did not ask for help.

● 771 As to their religion, we know only that it is fetishistic. We know nothing of its cult or system, and even less of its dogma. [Fig. 33]

821 The northern groups seem to be tending toward astrolatry. Once
[771] when I had threatened the moon and the stars with an arrow, poised ready on a strung bow, several Tagnani rose abruptly and halted my gesture, speaking very excitedly, scolding me, and taking the weapon away from me as if it were a sacrilege.

The Cocozu and Anunze threaten the storm with their weapons, waving their arms in all directions and cursing the rain in loud yells.

Sometimes, instead, the women climb on a termite nest where they let out puffs of smoke and throw ashes into the air to frighten the storm.

764 We do not know anything as yet about their funeral rites. It has been ascertained, however, that they do not cremate their dead and do not eat them. They bury them directly [259] in the ground--
the Cocoza in circular pits, the Tagnani in elongated graves.